 INTRODUCTION

The area where this research was conducted falls within the two traditional areas of Nkoransa and Takyiman in the Brong-Ahafo Region of Ghana (Fig.1). It lies roughly between latitudes 7°15' and 7°50'N and longitudes 1°30' and 2°00'W. Before the Asante invasion of AD 1722/3 this area is said to have been the core of the Bono state which is claimed in many traditional accounts to be one of the earliest Akan states to develop in Ghana. Takyiman state is the successor of this former Bono state.

While aware of the drawbacks and limitations of oral traditions, it is the writer's opinion that this source can be equally as valuable as written sources, if exposed to the same critical methods of interpretation. For some time now most of the oral histories have been collected by historians. These traditions collected have dwelt mostly on social and political organisation of the states concerned. The result is that most of the oral traditions we have cover non-material aspects; the material aspects which will help archaeologists to interpret their excavated materials have received less attention. There is therefore the urgent need for archaeologists to start collecting oral traditions with 'archaeologically-oriented' questionaires, touching on aspects of origin, food items, economy, and industries. This, it is hoped, will give a more comprehensive picture about past societies of at least the last five to six hundred years than what we have at present. For, while traditions on political organisation are susceptible to distortion, diffusion and exaggeration, those connected with non-political activities may be less susceptible to such drawbacks, thereby giving archaeologists

useful data for interpreting materials of the later prehistory.

Both historical and anthropological researches have been conducted in the area by Rattray (1923, 1927) Meyerowitz and Dennis Warren (1970, 1971). Of these Meyerowitz's work has been most widely known. So far she has 6 books to her credit, all of which have lengthy discussions on the Bono state (1949, 1950, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1974). Among modern historians and anthropologists, however, these works have received so much criticism that new data for the history of the Bono state is often called for. Dennis Warren's recent work is a big contribution towards a fresh approach to the study of the history of the Bono state (1971). The present work is a similar attempt with a slight bias towards elucidating more information on material objects which will aid archaeological reconstruction of the past.

Before the collection of the traditions was begun letters had been written to the chiefs, adikrofo (village heads) and the District Administrative Officer explaining the purpose of the field research, soliciting their support and cooperation and indicating the programme schedule. These letters helped a great deal because the chiefs informed the oral historians in their villages and towns so when the interviews started they were not new to the informants. The questionnaires used have been appended at the end of this paper. Provision was however made for other questions that would possibly result from certain items of information he/she had which had not been covered. This was useful since it helped to gain further information about which questions had not been asked.

A tape recorder was used in collecting most of the oral traditions. However in special circumstances this was avoided especially where the information concerned state secrets or could only be told on festive occasion.

The methods used in the interviews varied from village to village depending upon the type of problems in which information was needed. For general oral history the group interview technique was initially employed, in which all the adept informants met and gave their information. However, it was soon realised that this was not very good because sometimes the informants would remain silent on certain topics which they knew well just because their chief had given another version which they thought might not be correct. For this reason most of the time either a spokesman, or the adept historians were interviewed individually. For information which was restricted to special people with special duties such as stool history and ritualised objects, the historians concerned were interviewed.

In almost all the interviews, local gin was provided for libation to call the ancestors before we could start. The local dialect (Bono) was used throughout. In most cases the question and answer method was used. This was found suitable because often the informants could only remember items of information when asked specific questions, while those who remembered often gave disjointed, incoherent information without the question and answer method. As far as possible care was taken not to ask leading questions, (appendix I).

While the interview was being taped the important place names,

objects or features were noted in my field note book. After the interview, arrangements were made to visit or see them. Sometimes the informants were willing to guide me to the archaeological sites, objects or features. Sometimes, too the informants chose somebody else as a guide.

Ideally the taped oral data from all the informants should have been kept on each tape for archival and future research purposes. However, this could not be done owing to the limited number of cassette tapes. Instead, after the interview the data was transcribed in English into an exercise book. Six field note books have so far been used for such transcriptions and are deposited at the Department of Archaeology Library.

5.1 FIELD PROBLEMS

Unlike Mrs. Meyerowitz who had to make use of an interpretor, the present writer has the advantage of being a Bono (Brong) from Nkoransa. Thus there was no problem of language. And, unlike Mrs. Meyerowitz, I was not entangled with any political or emotional involvement and was not seeking to prove a pre-conceived theory

One problem, however, which was faced initially was that for reasons which will become apparent shortly under the fall of the Bono state, the Takyiman people have a covert historical grudge against the Nkoransa people. For a Nkoransa citizen to conduct research into the history of the ancestors of Takyiman was, to some elders, unacceptable. Thanks to Nana Ameyaw Kwakye II, the present Omanhene (Paramount chief) of Takyiman, I was introduced at a traditional council meeting where he

explained the need and importance of my research and called for co-operation and support from the adikrofo (village heads). This introduction, together with the letters which had already been sent out, prompted a ready welcome for me wherever I went for information. In some cases the Ɔmanhene would ask a messenger to accompany me to oral historians whose services I needed. The messenger would introduce me either through a letter from the manhene or verbally.

Another contribution to the solution of this problem was the fact that a number of students were known whose relatives and acquaintances were oral historians. These students showed so much interest in this research that there was never any hesitation in introducing me to their relatives whose services were needed.

Finally when the oral traditions were followed by excavations, the people realised the importance of the research so that later some oral historians were freely offering unsolicited information.

Another problem was that the questionnaires were very long and could take a considerable time to complete fully. The first two interviews conducted were seen to be tedious for the informants. To offset this problem the questionnaires were divided into two so that one informant was interviewed at two different times. This made it less exhausting for my informants. In some instances it gave the informants time to remember information on some aspects which they could not supply immediately in the first interview.

5.2 ORAL TRADITION AS AN HISTORICAL SOURCE

Vansina defines oral traditions as "historical sources of a special nature" (1965, p.1). What distinguishes these from other historical sources are that they are transmitted by word of mouth, and that they are unwritten, stored in the memory of people who hand them down from generation to generation.

The way traditions are transmitted varies. Some transmissions may follow definite rules and are called fixed texts. Others may not follow any definite rules and may be referred to as free texts. Oral traditions which follow such rules as instruction, control over recital and mnemonic devices are generally considered more accurate than free texts. It has, therefore, been suggested that societies which have special groups and/or mnemonic devices for transmitting oral traditions have more reliability and more time depth in oral traditions than societies without these (Vansina, Ibid., pp.31-39).

Many writers, both in history and ethnology have considered the validity of oral traditions in diverse ways. Broadly these writers may be placed under two schools of thought:

1. Those who assert that oral traditions have no historical value and are therefore worthless.
2. And those who assert that oral traditions can be of real value as a historical source. Far from saying that oral traditions are unquestionably reliable, this school argues that if they are critically evaluated they may be a valuable historical source.

Historians of the first school include J.D. Fage and Ivor Wilks. According to Fage, distortions in oral traditions are such as to make them worthless as an historical source (1956, I, pp.15-19). Wilks is of a somewhat similar opinion. He claims that oral traditions have no historical content. He believes that traditions are simply myths which have been invented to suit a particular situation. In many cases, he says, these situations are political. According to him, the study of oral traditions is relevant not for history but in the field of customary law (1956, pp.84-6). Among ethnologists who belong to the first schools Lowie is worth mentioning. Indeed he categorically stated, "I cannot attach to oral tradition any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever" (1917, 17, p.598). In a milder form E.S. Hartland shares a smilar opinion. Apart from certain indications such as direction of migrations and cultural diffusion, Hartland considers all the information which oral traditions provide as worthless (1914, pp.428-56).

In the second school, are such historians as R. Oliver, and Jan Vansina. Oliver thinks that oral traditions are worth investigating. Indeed he claims that "wherever it exists, traditional history is the obvious starting point for archaeological survey" (1959, pp.52-63).

Jan Vansina has a similar opinion. He believes that oral traditions are useful for the culture historian "if he realises that they must be submitted to the acid test.of the historical method" (1967 p.81).

Since the late fifties African historians are becoming particularly keen in using this source. This new awakening is made most vivid by writers such as Adu Boahen (1974), Daaku (1971) Fynn (1975) and Darkwah (1973) Indeed one cannot deny the fact that oral traditions have their limitations. Some of these may be presented here:

1. Oral traditions suffer from distortions due to the method of transmission. Failure of memory, the degree of control exercised over the transmission, infrequency of recital and the whims of the informants, are all factors which bring about these distortions in oral traditions.

2. Oral traditions are limited in time depth. Unlike time depths with which archaeology or physical anthropology deal, oral traditions are generally considered to span only the last five to seven hundred years (Vansina, 1967, pp.55-82).

3. Diffusion usually occurs in oral traditions so that a similar story may be told in widely different areas.

4. A tradition may claim to be about a whole people, but will in reality be concerned with just a little group among the whole people. This is common with oral traditions of origin in which traditions relating to a ruling group may be taken as applying to the whole population in the area.

5. Oral traditions may idealize the roles of people in history. For example, the role of a warrior king may be so much exaggerated that his deeds may overshadow other kings who may also have fought wars of equal historical interest.

6. Traditions are also subject to influences of their functions.

For example, drummers who recount the deeds of kings may not mention a king's name just because his reign was marked by a state disaster or that it was a completely uneventful reign.

The above are but a few of the common limitations in oral traditions, but do these deprive oral traditions of all validity as a historical source: Oral sources have enabled us to fill in some of the gawning gaps left by documentary sources (Adu Boahen 1974, p.18) and have added flesh to the bare bones provided by other sources in such an amazing manner that to reject this source outright in Africa will be highly unjustifiable.

Oral traditions have assisted archaeologists in Africa quite considerably both in the location of archaeological sites and the interpretation of finds. This has been most prominent in the interlacustrine area of East Africa. For example, M. Posnansky found two superimposed capitals in Ankole (Bwenyorere) where the traditions said they were located; the earlier capital was some centimetres under the more recent one (Posnansky 1959 pp.32-36).

In West Africa, too, similar advantages have been enjoyed by archaeologists. In Nigeria, quite a good deal of material has been compiled on Ife and Benin. These traditions have helped considerably in locating such traditional sites as Orun Oba Ado and Ogba Road site (Connah 1972 pp.25-38). In the River State, the discovery and the interpretation of the finds from the site of Onyoma have been facilitated by oral traditions (Alagoa, 1973 pp.10-12). Similarly, in Ghana, Calvocoressi (1970), York (1973), Agorsah (1973) and Posnansky (1973) have made considerable use of oral traditions in the location of sites and the interpretation of their finds.

5.3 SOURCES OF INFORMATION

In all, 13 villages and 2 towns were visited. About 50 people were interviewed in the area. The list of informants is appended at the end of this paper (Appendix II). The informants are grouped in the following categories:

A. Custodians

B. Chiefs, sub-chiefs and heads of clans

C. Artisans

D. Palace functionaries

E. Elders/commoners

F. Members of royal house

A. In this category are those who are in-charge of the property connected with the state. These include stool custodians, traditional priests and custodians of royal mausoleums. During their initiation period these people are taught the history connected with the objects in their custody. Their information, though of the free text type, is not easily accessible to the public.

B. These are the people in chiefly authorities in the villages or towns. As with the first category, they are taught detailed history about their stools immediately after being enstooled. Their information covers general history, though traditions on origins and political organisation feature more prominently.

C. In this category are craftsmen such as blacksmiths, weavers, brass casters and potters. (For convenience hunters are also included in this category). These informants provided details about the origins,

processes and other aspects of their professions.

D. Those grouped in this category include hornblowers, drummers, executioners and royal minstrels. Unfortunately very few of these could give information because customarily certain fixed recitations or narrations could not be given except during the Apoo festival which unfortunately did not coincide with the period of research in the area.

E. In this category are the old men and women who hold no key positions but whose ancestors served at courts of the kings and therefore handed down much of the traditions on the state to them. These were the people who could provide information on origins and other aspects of the history of the state. They were very helpful for, since these people did not occupy any official positions, they were free to tell state secrets which could not be so easily told by a member of a royal family or one with a chiefly authority.

F. In this category are the royals who, though not chiefs or sub-chiefs have acquired traditions concerning their ancestors as a result of informal instructions from the royal house.

It will be noticed from the above that a cross-section of the people in the area was interviewed. Though they formed the principal groups among which I conducted my research the questions asked were not only concerned with the category to which an informant belonged, but also touched on aspects, which in theory did not concern the informant. This proved useful because sometimes an informant, while not knowing much history about the category to which he or she belongs, proved well-versed in the history of the other categories.

Most of the information was derived from free text. This raised the problem of choosing which version of the traditions was more reliable. On the whole, however, only a few significant versions were encountered. Although minor variations were encountered in the traditions on origins, food items, chronology, settlements and trade, these variations did not alter the principal facts in the narratives. In any case, the other versions and variations which were not considered convincing enough, have been presented as notes.

5.4 ASSESSMENT OF TRADITIONS COLLECTED

After assessing the traditions collected from the Nkoransa and Takyiman traditional areas, one obvious feature which was observed was that the traditions of the former are more patchy than those of the latter traditional area. There are three possible explanations for this: Fisrtly, most of the ruling groups of Nkoransa were Asante who came to rule the conquered Bono people. These ruling groups know very little of the history of the Bono state before the Asante invasion. Secondly, since the original inhabitants of the Nkoransa area later came under the conquering Asante group, they soon forgot, or were possibly made to forget their past. Thirdly, some of them, especially the chiefs, would not like to betray the ruling group, and so would not give full details of the Bono state. An example of this is that some of the brass bowls which are displayed during the annual Munufie Kese yam festival of Nkoransa were captured from some of the states under the Bono state. But few Nkoransa chiefs or sub-chiefs admit this when asked, though it is an open secret in the traditional area.

In addition, the Nkoransa traditions seem to make glaringly exaggerated claims about the first king of the Nkoransa state, Baffo Pim. He is always accorded so many achievements and credited with supernatural powers that previous rulers in the Bono state seem to have no place at all in their traditions.

Though they are more reliable and detailed, there are similar exaggerated claims about the Bono state in the Takyiman traditions. For example, some of the kings of the Bono state are said to have had so many slaves that they lined up along the path leading to the drinking stream of the king and kept passing the container of the king's drinking water from one to the other till it reached the stream. It was then filled with water and then returned in the same process before it reached the king's capital at Bono Manso. For it said the king never drank water that had been carried by one person. It is also likely, considering the catastrophic effect of the Asante invasion on the ancestors of Takyiman, that an element of exaggeration may have entered the traditions simply to creat a political atmosphere. Information on the political organisation is liable to such a distortion. This is borne out by the emotional way in which informants usually narrated stories about the political organisation of the Bono state. Traditions on this aspect should therefore be regarded as a blend of reality and exaggeration.

Happily, however, traditions about the domestic lives of the Bono people seem free from exaggeration because they are far less influenced by politics. Thus information on origin, economy, trade, industries and architecture are considered more reliable.

The traditions that follow are an attempt at a synthesis of all those so far collected by the writer. They are supposed to cover mostly the period between the 15th century AD, and the early 18th century AD when the state collapsed. The traditions have been placed under sub-headings. Under each heading the traditions are first put forward and then an attempt is made to interpret them.

6. ORIGINS OF THE BONO STATE

According to the traditions of Takyiman (successor of the Bono state) the word "Bono" (Brong) means a "pioneer" - something that is first of its kind. Among the Akan when a woman gives birth for the first time this is often referred to as Abonowo . Some people also claim that the word Bono does not necessarily mean a pioneer, but that it is derived from the fact that the ancestors of the Takyiman people emerged from a hole. In the Bono dialect the word for a hole is boo and it is argued that the founders of the Bono state got the name Bono from their association with bɔɔ' or bɔno which has been corrupted into Bono. In this case Bono people means "people who were living in a hole".

The Takyiman people refer to their ancestors as the true Bono for two main reasons: Firstly, they accredit them with having been one of the first organised Akan states in Ghana. States such as Asante, Denkyira and Gyaman, were according to their traditions, formed later. They even attribute the formation of the Fante state to some of their ancestors. Secondly, they claim that their ancestors were the earliest organised people to settle in the present Brong-Ahafo Region; all other states in the region such as Berekum, Dormaa and Nkoransa came later and

adopted their dialect.

The origin of the Bono state is not clear. The local traditions point to a hole near a rock-shelter called Amuowi from which the earliest ancestors of the Bono state are said to have emerged. This site is about 2 kilometres south-east of Pinehen village in the Nkoransa area (map.1). The traditions say that the ancestors emerged from the hole on a Friday. This emergence from Amuowi is also expressed in a song during the annual Apoo festival of Takyiman:

Ye firi Amuowi[2] O
Ye firi Amuowi O, Domankoma
Amuowi dadampowa
Ye firi Amuowi O,
Ye firi Amuowi O, Domankoma
Asase kokoo mma e
Ye firi Amuowi O,
Ye firi Amuowi, O, Domankoma

Roughly translated the song goes like this:

We came from Amuowi
We came from Amuowi, =Creator.
Ancient Amuowi
We came from Amuowi,
We came from Amuowi, Creator,
Children of Red Mother Earth,
We came from Amuowi,
We came from Amuowi, Creator.

The king, the tradition continues, disappeared back into

the hole because he was annoyed at a shout from an astonished hunter. The traditions are not clear, however, as from where the hunter came. The king is said to have left a large necklace at the entrance of the hole in the process. The necklace is claimed to be at the entrance today.[3] It was the queen, Ameyaa who led the people to stay about 1km. from the hole (map.1) with their earliest god called Biakru.[4] While at this new settlement the son of the queen assumed the role of a king. He was named Asaman (spirit of the dead) because the real king was in the spirit world and was yet to come out.

In a short time, the numerous people had settled, under family heads all over the area. And soon the hunters of the king explored and reported a suitable area for the king's capital. Asaman and a number of the people left and settled about 17 kms. from the first settlement. The priest of the earliest god Biakru and some of the people were asked to stay behind and guard the sacred hole which contained the king and some of their people. The King's new settlement became the capital of the Bono state and was thus called Bono Manso, that is, capital of the Bono.

Although the Takyiman traditions say their ancestors formed the earliest state in the area, they accept that the actual pioneers were the ancestors of the present Gyamma people. It is said that when the hunters of king Asaman were searching for a suitable place for a capital, they met the ancestors of the Gyamma people who were living in caves. While the capital was being built the Gyamma people took care of the Bono state stool. Since the number of the Gyamma

people was very small they were easily absorbed by the Bono people. They have continued their role as custodians of the Bono stool ever since. Further evidence of the autochthonous standing of the Gyamma people is shown during the Takyiman yam festival. It is the Odikro of Gyamma who first offers yams to the Omanhene of Takyiman, This symbolises the Gyamma people's status as hosts of Takyiman people.

6.1 TABOOS AND STORIES ABOUT ORIGIN

The hole at Amuowi is still regarded with strict sacredness. Stories are often told of this sacred hole: It is said that in the olden days there were people in the rock-shelter who could provide cloths whenever money was deposited about 75 metres from the rock-shelter. It is also said that on festive occasions, one would often hear drumming and rattling in the direction of the rock-shelter. Cases are reported in which hunters had seen dwarfish people dancing in the rock-shelter!

Taboos relating to the hole are equally abundant. No Bono king was ever allowed to visit the sacred hole. This is strictly observed by the Omanhene of Takyiman. Secondly, since the emergence from the hole was on Nkyi Friday, it became a taboo to farm on Fridays. It is also on Nkyi Friday, that the annual Apo festival reaches a climax. On this day the Takyiman people remember their ancestors from the time of their emergence at Amuowi to the time the Bono state was destroyed by the Asante invasion. Thirdly, no person is allowed to utilize the land within about 75 metres radius of

the sacred hole. And the same radius should not be visited without the permission or the presence of the Bosomfo (chief priest) of the god Biakru; a misfortune may befall any person who contravenes these rules.

Similar taboos and stories are associated with the Gyamma caves. The Gyamma people call their ancestors' settlement as Atumkuroase - Iron smelting village. A particular cave is known as Boo Tomfoo - the rock smith. The ancestors of the Gyamma people are said to have been blacksmiths who supplied tools through the method of silent trade.

Every year the Gyamma people visit these caves. When going they do not use cutlasses to clear the path but use sticks to force their way through the bush. The reason why this is done could not be explained, but it may possibly be connected with this ancient tool making tradition or because they did this before the advent of iron. It is also said that on Fridays the ancestors spread their gold outside the caves. Therefore it is forbidden to visit the caves on Fridays.

Other people whose ancestors are mentioned in the traditions as coming out of holes are the Nsoko, Kokuma and Anyima/Nkyiraa people but it is not clear which of them emerged earlier in the area.

6.2 OBSERVATIONS ON THE TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

Goody has asserted that such traditions of origin from holes may embody "claims of autochthonous status" (1965 page 2). This may be supported by the fact that none of the villages or towns in the area is able to refer to other people who were living in the area before these "earth" people.

Two possible explanations may be deduced from the myth of origin from holes. Firstly, it may refer to an ancient period when a group of people lived in caves or rock-shelters. The Bono word bono or boo can be used to refer to both a hole in the ground and a rock-shelter or cave. Since this period may go back to the Early Iron Age about a thousand years ago, when people still lived in rock-shelters or caves, the actual location may escape their memory and therefore a hole near a rock-shelter or cave may be taken to represent the place where their ancestors first settled. On the other hand since people are naturally curious about knowing their origins, they may take a natural feature such as a hole to represent their original home. In most cases the feature is in an area which is solitary. Caves and rock-shelters provide ideal conditions for such places. In such a case it is assumed that the people who regard it as sacred have occupied an area very near it before.

Either of these two possible explanations may be associated with the Amuowi sacred hole. For there is a rock-shelter very near it which is large enough to be occupied. There is a stream which flows from the rock outcrop in which is the rock-shelter. Such a facility

could be very attractive to Early Iron Age groups who were then more attached to the environment than to day. On the other hand the rock-shelter is in an isolated rock outcrop from which the Busumku stream takes its source. The stream issues from a dark cave adjoining the rock-shelter. This would offer conditions of awe and would be used as a place of the mysterious emergence of the people, and may thus be ritualised.

A further observation is that there is an important taboo which seems to recur in the traditions of Takyiman, which is connected with some of the kings of the Bono state. There are three instances of the alleged "Sudden disappearance" of kings. In the first instance the first mythical king "disappeared back" into the hole. The second was that of Takyia Kwame who is said to have "turned into a stream", and the last Bono king Ameyaw Kwakye I, after having been released by the Asante, "disappeared except his finger". I consider these stories as a clothed language to express sudden death of the kings concerned. This is borne out by the fact that later kings were not allowed to see or could not frequent the spots where the said kings disappeared. If this interpretation is correct it may give a clue to the cause of the migration of the so-called ancestors of the Bono state from where they allegedly emerged. It may have been a disaster that befell the king, thus triggering off the movement from their earliest settlement. If this is accepted it will explain why the tradition claims the king did not come out, and why the next king was rather called Asaman (spirit world). A final observation is

about the rock-shelter or cave people providing goods. This may sound fantastic, but it is possible that they may point to ancient times when dumb barter system operated throughout West Africa.

7. GROWTH OF THE BONO STATE

The Bono state seemed to have grown steadily both in size and population. This steady growth seems to have been possible by:

a) incorporation due either to intermarriage or award of high status to leaders of earlier minority settlers in the area.

b) metting up hunters' or farmers' nnan (camps) which later developed into villages.

c) immigration

d) wars.

a) By this process it is assumed that the population of the Bono people was either greater than nearby settlements or that the Bono were better organised. In the former case it would be possible to absorb, through intermarriage, the small settlers. The Dewoman and the Gyamma people claim different origins from the Bono state. Yet they were later incorporated into the Bono state; the Dewoman king was often referred to as the "son" of the Bono king. Similarly the Gyamma people became custodians of the Bono stool even though they were in the area earlier than the Bono.

b) Hunters of the Bono state set up nnan (camps) as their bases during hunting. These nnan later developed into villages and towns when the areas proved lucrative in game and agricultural activities. It is said that Akomadan near Takyiman was founded in this way. The

name is said to have been derived from two words: Ankoma, the name of the hunter, and nnan which stands for a camp - hence Ankomannan which has been corrupted into Akomadan.

Similarly, the village of Besedan is said to have been founded by slaves of a Bono queen who were settled there to grow kola. Bese means kola; nnan means camp - hence Besennan which has been corrupted into Besedan (kola camp).

c) It is claimed that the Bono state enjoyed peace for a considerable length of time. For this reason other people came to settle in the territory. One of such settlements was Longoro (Donkro) Nkwanta (map 1) which was a predominantly Degha (Mo) speaking settlement.

d) The traditions of Takyiman claim that the first war with the Yabo (Gonja) was fought largely because the Bono wanted to expand northwards. Thus, according to the local traditions, the Yabo were driven from the area to settle beyond the Firaw (Black Volta).

All these processes were in no small measure responsible for the territorial expansion and population growth of the Bono state. It is said that to the south the Bono state bordered Tafo, Ohwim, Kaase and Offinso; to the east by Wiase; to the north by the Gonja state and to the west by Nsoko (Map 2). The increase in population and the large territory earned the kings of the Bono state the title "Bono kyempim duoduakwa[5] hene mu hene" (King of thousands of Bono who were planted anyhow; king of kings).

8. THE BONO AND FANTE STATES

As the state developed, emigrations due largely to famine, wars or quarrels often occurred. The Takyiman traditions are strong in claiming that the Fante, now found at the coast, were once part of the Bono state. The founders are said to have migrated there owing to a succession dispute. The word Fante is said to have originated as a result of their secession; FA ATE stands for "break part away"[6] (see also Reindorf 1889 p.22). The separatists were said to have been led by three royals of the Bono state; Obunumankoma, Odapagya and Osono. They first settled at Mankesim with followers. Other people were said to have followed them much later under Nsamankwa and Abrekwamsi just before the Asante war of 1722/3, as a result, again, of a succession dispute. This latter dispute is still remembered in the annual apoo festival in a song:

Nsamankwa e, Abrakwamsi e,
Ohene ne hwan o?
Nsamankwa e, Abrakwamsi e,
Ohene ne Ameyaw.

Translated literally it is like this:

Nsamankwa (and) Abrakwamsi
Who is king?
Nsamankwa (and) Abrakwamsi
Ameyaw is king.

There are six points which tend to support this tradition of Bono-Fante relationship:

1. It is said that the word Akumfi was a stool title of the Bono state and later of Takyiman. This word is the same Ekumfi in the Fante area. Also the name of Takyi or Tekyi is common among the early rulers in both state.

2. Obunumankoma, Odapagya and Nsono are mentioned as secessionists who went to the coast, in the Takyiman traditions; and they are referred to as founders of the Fante state in the Fante traditions (Hutton 1821 p.347).

3. Some of the coastal Fante are said to celebrate the same apoo festival as that of Takyiman (Rattray, 1923 p.151).

4. It is said that whenever the Omanhene of Mankesim dies, the Takyimanhene is customarily notified to go and bury him, and vice verse.

5. Throughout the Brong Ahafo Region, it is only the Takyiman people who claim any such connection with the Fante. As has already been pointed out, it is the Takyiman people who claim to be the original Bono speakers.
This latter claim seems to be supported by Dr. Dolphyne's study of the Bono dialect (pers. comm.). For while there are certain peculiarities among the sub-dialects of the so-called later arrivals such as Berekum and Dormaa, that of Takyiman lacks these and seems to be closest to the original Bono dialect.

6. Dr. Dolphyne has also shown that there are smilarities in the Bono dialects to Fante which are not found in other Akan dialects (1973, pp.9-27).

For example, unlike the Akuapem and Asante dialects which have the third person singular subject - concord prefixes one for animate reference and another for non-animate reference, Bono (Brong) and Fante have 0 for both animate and non-animate reference (p.16). e.g.

Bono	Fante	Akuapem and Asante
Oko	Oko	Oko
(he/she/it has gone)	(he/she/it has gone)	(he/she has gone)

Also in both Bono and Fante possessive noun phrases, when the noun which is the possessor is expressed, it obligatorily requires a possessive "pronoun" (p.22).

Bono	Fante	Asante
Kofi ne Amma be sukuu (Kofi and Amma their school)	Kofi ne Amma hon sukuu (Kofi and Amma their school)	Kofi ne Amma sukuu (Kofi and Amma's school)

Another example is that the possessive pronoun is said on a high tone both in Bono and Fante, while it is said on a low tone in Akuapem and Asante (p.12). e.g.

Bono	Fante	Akuapem and Asante
me kono/nko	mo kon	me kon (my neck)
ne! ye re	ne yer	ne yere (his wife)

9. SETTLEMENTS AND ARCHITECTURE

Sites for villages and towns were chosen on four main criteria:

a. availability of good agricultural land and game

b. water supply

c. nearness to the capital

d. consultation with the main god of the people;

The local traditions indicate that settlements were built by the direction of the sun. Every settlement was located in such a way that the main street would run north-south so that the sun often crossed it. This orientation may be for the purpose of ensuring a protection from the sun.

Most of the people are said to have built thatched wattle and daub structures. There is, however, some mention of flat-roofed houses called Aban.[7] According to one informant (No.12 of AppendixI) one such aban was used by a royal of the Bono state who was living around the present Duayaw-Nkwanta town. The aban were said to have been restricted to the ings and other important personalities in the state. They were built with the wattle and daub method but were not thatched. Instead mmaa kube (borassus aethiopum) trunks were made into boards and were used as a ceiling of the roof. Daub was then used to seal completely the small openings. It was then plastered smoothly with clay and cow dung. Narrow channels (ka) were usually

made on the roof. Where the channels entered the edge of the roof, a short hollowed borassus board was inserted to act as a drain pipe, locally called agyensuo.

The restriction of the flat-roofed house to kings and nobles is important. It suggests three possibilities: First, the ruling lineage of the Bono state may have been of northern origin since flat-roofed houses are common only in the north of the country and beyond. This question of northern origin is however strongly denied in the local traditions.[8] On the other hand it may indicate that northern cultural influence on the Bono state was very strong. This may be supported by the use of aponko (horses) in the Bono state by the kings and nobles. It is also possible that the royals' houses were built by imported slaves from the north or immigrant builders hence the northern style.

9.1 THE CAPITAL

All informants deny that Bono Manso was a walled capital, nor is there any evidence that the capital had an alien Muslim quarter. Though Muslim traders came to trade in the Bono state, it is claimed that owing to differences in religion and the fact that human sacrifices were common, nor Muslim Community sprang up there.[9]

The ahemfie (palace) is said to have been walled. That the ahemfie was very large is borne out by the large number of quarters it is said to have contained: Pramaso (main courtyard), pramakan (first court), pramma II (second court), mmam (the harem), dabekan (bedroom I)

dabekyire (last bedroom) and Nkotimso (servants' quarter). And that the king had numerous slaves and servants at the ahemfie is borne out by the exaggerated claim that he never drank water that was carried by a single person, a story I have narrated above. This may be an exaggeration but it may indicate the wealth and greatness of the Bono kings.

Bono Manso is said to have been bounded on the north and west by the Pankana stream, which was the main water supply of the people; to the south it was bounded by the River Subin, and to the east by the Abam stream. The local inhabitants of modern Manso readily show strangers one of the main aponkokwan (horses' pathways) which are claimed to have led from the capital to the Pankana stream.

The capital is said to have had 177 streets. Traditions of similar claims are widespread among the Akan (Rattray 1929 p.61), and may simply be a poetic way of saying that this was a substantial settlement composed of different clans or families rather than the physical streets we have in modern Ghanaian cities and towns.

Other large settlements were Asekye, Dewoman and Nyafoman.

9.2 THE AVERAGE MAN'S HOUSE

A complete house of an average man was rectangular in plan and had a central courtyard. The rooms varied from four to six. It is not clear in which part of the house a family head usually slept, but it is said that he slept either on a raised clay platform or a wooden bed erected on four short poles. The children and the women often slept on beaten clay floors. The beds or floors of a sleeping

room were usually covered with a raffia mat. If the family head was a hunter, the raffia mats were supplemented by the skins of the animals he had killed. Rooms had no doors at the entrance but only a long raffia mat which hung there.

Of the 4 or 6 rooms there was always one which was used as a kitchen. This was usually on a raised clay platform locally called bato. Water pots, cooking utensils and other domestic containers were kept in the kitchen.

Fire places had no specific location. Sometimes they were made in the kitchen, but quite often they were made in the centre of the courtyard. In order to make provisions for rain, bukyia (hearths) were made permanently in the kitchen. The bukyia could be one of a set of three laterite blocks, a set of three conically shaped clay blocks or a set of three perforated pots. The perforation was done to prevent the pots from cracking through overheating (see also Bellis 1972 p.163). This set of bukyia was occasionally cleaned with clay (kwa bukyia) by the women, merely a morning chore without any religious significance (cf. Bellis, Ibid.)

10. BURIAL PRACTICES

Except for the kings there were no public cemeteries. Children below the age of 5 years were buried in rubbish dumps, usually in pots. This practice earned the name kuku ba; kuku (o) means pot, ba means child.

Adults were buried in their rooms. An L-shaped pit in plan, called dakamona was dug, the horizontal section being the chamber in which the body was laid. This was sealed with sticks and then the earth was shovelled into the vertical part (the hall). The deceased was considered only travelling to the spirit world. For this reason he needed some of his or her property. Therefore a cup of water, clothes, food and sponge were buried with the dead. The edges of pots containing the offerings were deliberately broken, the reason for which is not yet explained.

A man is said to have been laid facing east "so as to rise up and go to the farm". A woman was laid facing west "to start cooking the evening meal."

Although kings and queens were buried in a somewhat similar way, slaves and servants were often killed and buried with them "to carry the goods and serve their master or mistress" in the spirit world. In such a case, the heads were usually put in the "hall" of the grave.

11. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Two types of economies may be distinguished:[10] primary and secondary economic activities. The former involves direct contact with the land:[11] whilst the latter involves a second stage after direct contact with the land. Primary economic activities therefore include collecting, agriculture, fishing and hunting. Secondary economies include weaving, iron working, gold working[12] and potting.

11.1 PRIMARY ECONOMIES

11.11 Collecting - The following food items: kookoo (Colocasia antiquorum), Akam (Discorea bulbiferous), nkamfoo (Dioscorea cavenensis) and habayere (Dioscorea sp.) were collected in their wild state. They were found in the forest or semi-forest. People are said to have roamed through the forests in search of them in times of famine. This may be supported by an Akan folk tale in which Ntikuma, the son of the hero Kwaku Ananse (spider), travels long distances in time of famine. He meets an old woman in a hole who commands him (Ntikuma) to harvest habayere (Dioscorea sp.) and cook the peelings. Ntikuma follows this instruction and the peelings. turn into edible yams. Ntikuma brings home the food and there is joy in the village of Kwaku Ananse.

This tale is important to the prehistorian because it gives one an idea about the origins of yam cultivation. It may be inferred from the above tale that yam cultivation may have begun by a long process of collecting wild yams which were later consciously cultivated (see also Davies 1968, 479-82; Posnansky 1969, 101-107).

Other wild food items collected were fruits. The most common of them include kure (Bosqueia sp.) and Akontoma (Carpodinus hirsuta). These are all forest products. Savanna fruits included Abobomma (Annona Arenaria) Akonkua (Strychnos spinosa), and abotoo (Griffonia sp.) Other food items collected wild were mushrooms, (Agaricus bisporus), snails (achatina sp.) and palm nuts (Elaeis guineansis). The two former were usually common in the wet

season. Apart from the last three food items, the others mentioned above are no longer collected.

11.12 AGRICULTURE

The traditions say that bayere (domestic yam) was the principal and most ancient indigenous crop in the Bono state. There are two principal versions on the main centres of cultivation in the area: The Menji version, and the Taa Mensah version.

According to the first version, yams in the Bono state first developed at Menji. There is a popular saying in the local traditions. Dee Kofi a ne ti firi Menji which literally means "the Friday-born yam whose centre is Menji". There is a story connected with this popular saying. A Menji king died during a great famine. When the people were going to bury him, they were lamenting over what food they would eat. A deity assured them that the dead king had promised to feed them from the spirit world. On the fortieth day (some say a week) the elders went to visit the grave. The god directed them to harvest and cook the plant. When this was done they got an edible food. From that time on, the Menji people began growing yams which later spread to other areas. Each year the are said to celebrate a festival in connection with the coming of the yam.

The second version was given only by Nana Kwame Nyame (No.12 Appendix II) and though not popular in the local traditions, is interesting. In ancient times the Bono state had no knowledge of domestic yams. It was the god Taa Mensah who directed people during

Some observations may be made on these two versions. Firstly, the origin of the use of domestic yams is claimed to have resulted from famine. One may infer from this that early cultivation may have been stimulated by certain phenomenal stresses. Secondly, the fact that many festivals are associated with yams in this area may indicate that the cultivation of yams stems from antiquity as in other parts of West Africa (Coursey 1966 pp.45-54). Finally, the different versions may be a reflection on the independent cultivation of varieties of yams in the areas concerned.

Although yams are the oft-mentioned food item, others are also important. One of these is a variety of bean called Akye or Nkyebi. Its antiquity may be judged from its association with food offerings during the ancient apoo and Fokuo festivals of Takyiman and Sessiman people respectively.

Ayuo (Sorghum) also seems to have been an ancient crop. There is a flat rocky place near the Amuowi sacred hole. 10 shallow grooves are found on this rocky place and the legends say that it was here that dogs ground ayuo (cf. Agorsah 1973 pp.13-14). Also during the Fokuo festival of Sessiman, successor to the Dewoman chiefdom, special ayuo wine is prepared for the people in remembrance of their ancestors.

The fact that there are no myths, legends folk tales or festivals connected with crops such as cocoyams, maize, bananas and plantains strengthens the case that these crops are foreign or recent additions which have out-stripped the earlier indigenous ones in importance.

11.13 FISHING

In the streams and rivers fishing played an important role in the local economy. The rivers Fia, Pru and Yaya (map 1) were especially noted for fishing. Three main methods of fishing were common:-

1. The use of agyakuo (basket traps) which were used in the shallower sections of rivers and streams.
2. In times of meat shortage or on festive occasions domatoo (river poisoning) was resorted to. The bark of the potrodom tree (Erythropheum guineense) was collected and pounded. It was mixed with other fruits and herbs and then mixed in the river. Large numbers of fish were collected in this way.
3. In the small streams, women temporarily dammed a section of the stream thought to be rich in fish. They kept bailing out the water (ko ahwe) until the fish and crabs were exposed, when they could be killed and collected.

11.14 HUNTING[13]

The importance of hunting (ahayo) cannot be over-emphasised. In the traditions hunters (abofoo) are often mentioned as founders of villages and towns. In times of war, hunters formed the rank and file of the army. They are mentioned also as discovers of certain food items. It was hunters who first "discovered" groups of people in different parts of the area such as the (Gyimma cave men and the

Dakofiase people at Pinehen. These traditions point to the importance and high status of hunters in the Bono society.

Hunting was a learned art which often passed from father to son. Two main types could be distinguished: big-game and small-game hunting. The former involved the hunting of abopono (big animals) such as Sono (elephant-Loxodonta Africana); susuno (hippopotamus - hippopotamus amphibius)and Koo (bush cow-Syncerus Caffer beddingtoni) This type of hunting was mostly restricted to the experienced, renowned, old-time hunters. The latter type involved hunting small animals such as duikers, antelopes and grass cutters. These were hunted by both the experienced and inexperienced hunters, and was more frequent than big-game hunting which was more risky. In the small-game hunting the weapons were the locally made short guns and bows and arrows. In addition cage traps and concealed holes were practised. From the traditions it appears that it was the introduction into the area of muzzle-loaded Dane guns, locally called Ananta, which later made big game hunting more popular, more effective and less dangerous than the local guns and bows and arrows.

11.2 SECONDARY ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

11.21 MANUFACTURE OF CLOTHS

11.211 BARK CLOTH: The Takyiman traditions are strong in claiming that the earliest type of cloths used by their ancestors were made from the bark of the Kyenkyene tree (Antiaris sp.) The bark was first stripped off the tree. Then it was soaked in water and beaten on a log. The thin stripes would then expand to

about thrice the original size (see also Rattray 1927 pp.220).

Though the making of this type of cloth has almost disappeared, there is a survival of this ancient cultural practice in the Nkoransa area among the Sasaman people.

During the Fokuo festival of their deity Ntoah, they cover their waists (if males) and heads (if females) with a type of bark cloth called homa bone (antiaris sp.). This festival is celebrated annually in which the males get themselves besmeared with charcoal with only the bark cloth on (see also Meyerowitz 1958 p.75; plates 29 and 30).

11.212 WEAVING

A considerable proportion of the population in the Bono state was engaged in the production of woven cloths. Weaving seems to have been the most wide-spread craft industry in the state.

The origin of weaving in the state is not certain. Some of the local tradtions claim it is indigenous, while others say it came from the north either from the Yabo (Gonja) or the Ndwila (Dyula) traders.

Every able-bodied man is said to have known the art of weaving, and every woman how to spin. Children were taught the art between the ages of eight and ten.

The raw material asaawa (cotton) is said to have been grown locally. The gyane or gyaneboo (spindle whorls) were bought both from the local potters and from the Ndwila (Dyula) traders from the

north.

Apart from Asekye (map 1) whose inhabitants are said to have been professional weavers for the Bono kings, weaving was part-time in all the settlements, and was usually done during the leisure h hours, particularly after farming. That the production of local cloths was high may be borne out by the frequent assertion that whenever a Bono ntoma or kyekye (as the local cloths were called) was about 6 months old, it was discarded and a new one used. The kyekye cloths are said to have been more coarse and less colourful than the later konte cloths.

However kings and nobles had special types of cloths made for state occasions. Two of them stand out in the local traditions: the Gagauga and Bew. These two names are important since they may give clues to West African trade. For, it is probable that the type of cloth Gagauga may have been derived from Gao a town in the Middle Niger Region, or Gaoga, a state that developed in the present Lake Chad area (Just as the cloth known as Dumas was traded from Damascus). If this is true it indicates the extent of the trading activities between the Bono state and the Middle Niger area in the pre-colonial period. It is possible that it was due to the high cost, in view perhaps, of the long distance and the high quality of the cloth, that made it get restricted to the kings and nobles in the Bono state.

The name Bew as a type of cloth also raises two significant speculations. Firstly, it may provide an explanation for the origin of the name Begho (Wilks 1926b pp.337-417; Posnansky 1971 pp.8-9),

pronounced Beo or Bew by the local inhabitants of Hani and Nsoko which became a very important trading centre for traders from middle Niger area and the south in the mideaval period (Wilks 1962b). It is possible that Begho may have acquired its name because the type of cloth called Bew was common in the area. For, according to the Dutch map of the regions of the Gold Coast in 1629 Nsoko made very fine cloths (Daaku and Van Dantzig 1966 p.14). On the other hand, it may indicate that the type of cloth called Bew derived its name from the fact that it was made in Bew (or Begho), just as Gagauga may have been derived from Gao or Gaoga.

The local traditions are strong in claiming that the idea of weaving spread to other Akan states further south, from the Bono state.

11.22 BLACKSMITHING

This was an industry so central to life in the Bono state that, the blacksmiths (atomfoo) formed a respectable group who were also regarded with awe.

At the height of the Bono power, Nyafoman (map 1) was the most important centre of the Atoo industry. Owing to this it is said that one of the Bono kings instructed his son, the Nyafoman king, to send some of his craftsmen to the capital.[14] 300 blacksmiths, under tomfoo Kwabena Kra, were accordingly despatched to the capital as sole craftsmen of the king's court.

The ore was obtained locally from atwetweboo (laterite

consisting of ferrugenised concretions). There is, however, an occasional mention in the traditions of iron bars which were imported from Kong in the Ivory Coast.

The process of manufacture is almost completely forgotten in the local traditions. This may be explained in two ways. Firstly, the atomfoo (blacksmiths) are said to have located their smithies well away from the settlement itself. They performed their craft in isolation. Thus the craft may be said to have been restricted. Secondly, it is said that the atoo was hereditary and not open to public participation. Thus when European competition became strong the tradition died out much more quickly than say, weaving or potting which did not belong to any specific clan or group.

We may, however, get an idea of the smelting process from the account given by Nana Yaw Amponsah Gyeabour (No.40 of appendix II) the present tomfoo (blacksmith) of the Atomfoo/Adonten division of Takyiman. Though he never saw the local smelting process, his grandfather from whom he inherited the craft had told him how the ore was smelted in the olden days.

The laterite was collected from localities which had rich deposits. A circular depression was made in the ground at the furnace site. Channels or striations were made in the depression to the sizes of the iron that would be needed. The depression was bridged with fresh sticks (these would eventually be burnt to ashes). A small open furnace was constructed over it. The atwetweboo (ore)

was put on top of the charcoal which rested on the fresh sticks. It was covered with charcoal again so that the ore was sandwiched between the two layers of charcoal. 4 bellows had meanwhile been stuck around the furnace. The charcoal was then lighted. Using the bellows, air was pumped in and charcoal added at intervals. The pumpers changed at intervals. At a certain temperature the ore would bloom and settle in the channels of the depression. The structure was then destroyed. Water was then used to cool the iron. The slag (dadebini) was scooped out, the actual iron was then taken and reheated to make whatever tools were needed. The principal tools which the atomfoo made were adre (a short cutlass), aso (hoe), soso (mattock), soroko (mining mattock), agyane (arrow head) and pea (sword).

The furnace and tools for the manufacture of the implements were worshipped, and offerings were made to the tools. This practice, called Asae hwie is still observed during the Apoo festival of Takyiman.

11.23 POTTING[15]

Unlike blacksmithing potting was not restricted to any clan (though in the case of kings, women could be commissioned to make special pots for festivals and for the kings court). The industry was almost exclusively practised by women. Since it was an open art, at least one potter could be found in every village in the Bono state. However, villages noted in the traditions in potting were Longoro (Donkro) Nkwanta, Bonseano, and Krobo. All these, except

Longoro Nkwanta (Degha speaking) practised the industry on part-time basis.

This industry was hereditary so that particular houses in a village would be famous for potting from generation to generation until quite recently when competition with European wares tended to break down the industry.

The clay (boo) was obtained from a radius ranging from 5 to 20 kilometres. Among the part-time potters, very simple rites were observed before collecting the clay (boo); It was forbidden to take eggs to the area; in default the pots would all break during firing or worse still the clay pit would cave in and kill the culprit. Occasionally a fowl would be sacrificed to the boo for successful pots to be produced.

Among the professional Mo (Degha speaking) potters of Longoro Nkwanta, more elaborate rites were said to have been observed which included annual ceremonial collection of the clay for storage.

The clay was usually collected by the potter and her children. At times, however, the clay would be brought to the Dwabirim (market) to be sold to the potters who needed it. The practice is still seen in the Takyiman market. Clay is brought from Nsuta, a distance of about 20 kilometres from Takyiman, to be sold.

Two main methods of manufacture seemed to have been employed by the Bono potters: (a) the moulding method in which a lump of clay was mainipulated to form a vessel; and (b) the coil method which involved coiled clay put on top of the other to form a vessel. Of the two, the former was the more frequently practised.

Pots are said to have been traded over distances ranging from 20 to 50 kilometres. According to one informant (No.19 of app.II) when she was a girl her mother often took her to the Banda area for pots. In this area a tuber of yam could be exchanged for an ahina (water pot). This was, however, subject to the distance covered by the potter or the customer; if a customer travelled to the potter, the price was lower than when the reverse occurred.

Apart from pots and bowls, smoking pipes (abua) and spindle whorls (gyaneboo or gyane) were also made locally by potters.

11.24 GOLD WORKING

This may be considered under two sub-headings:-

a. The mining and panning of the gold

b. The smithing of the gold into valuable objects.

11.24a MINING AND PANNING

Local traditions admit that the bulk of the gold in the Bono state was not obtained from the immediate vicinity of the capital (see also Meyerowitz 1949 p.207). The main sources of the Bono gold were in the Banda area and along the Tain river. It is claimed in the traditions that these two areas fell within the orbit of the Bono state. In the Tain area, the main mining centre was Obuase. Around the capital gold was obtained from along the streams, the most important of which were Adwoa Sika near Buoyem, Asuo Sika near Bonkwae, and Tankaw. The first two got their names from the gold they produced - Sika in Twi means gold.

In the case of the Tain area and Buoyem the gold was mined. Mine shafts, called Nkoron, circular in shape, were sunk into the ground by the use of special mining mattocks called soroko. These mine shafts (Nkoron) are still found in the Nsoko area. The men did the mining. It is said that slaves were often sent into the mines to work gold for the king. Using a wooden bowl called posie, the dug earth was dangled several times until the gold settled at the bottom of the bowl and was collected. Panning was done along the nearby streams and seemed to have been the common method used.

Whenever gold was mined, a third went to the king, a third to the village head (Odikro) and a third to the miner. Gold nuggets (pokwaa) are said to have been restricted to the kings. Illegal mining, that is, mining in which the proceeds were not declared or which was unauthorised, was punishable by death. It is said that mining was so regular in the Tain area that every week the Bono king received a brass bowl full of gold.

11.24b GOLD SMITHING

Traditions on goldsmithing have, like blacksmithing, almost been lost, largely through the restricted nature of the industry and the mass capture of craftsmen to the Asante court after the Asante invasion of the Bono state. Thanks to one informant (No.35 app.II), a brief account of the industry is preserved: the goldsmiths formed a group who were responsible to the king's court. They manufactured a variety of ornaments and objects such as mpeaboo (finials of the king's state chairs), and afona (state sword).

As was described by Rattray (1927 pp.309-316) the lost wax technique was the method of manufacture. The same method was used in making brass objects which were not for the court of the king. For, it is said that every metal object in the king's court was pure gold, (a probably exaggerated claim).

The wealth of the Bono kings in gold may be inferred from the assertion that the last king before the Asante invasion, Ameyaw Kwakye I, built a barn to store his gold at Akyemhatae and this was called Sika putuo (i.e. the barn for gold). It is also said that the tail of the king's horse was often decorated with gold nuggets.

11.25 BEADS

Traditions on the origins and manufacture of beads are remarkably sketchy and are associated with myths: Some informants claim that some beads were capable of multiplying; some say beads were found in streams and were made by dwarfs whilst others say that they were dug from the ground, (see also Van Landewijk 1970-71 pp.89-99). Some informants, however, say that a large proportion of the beads was brought from the north by alien traders. It is generally accepted also that local smiths made beads.

Considering the restricted nature of smithing it is possible that the myths about beads have arisen because of the secrecy of the method of manufacture. Thus these myths may rather be connected with the local manufacture of beads by the local smiths.

Locally made beads fall into two categories:-

a. stone and seed beads

b. other beads made by smiths

11.25a STONE AND SEED BEADS

The beads in this category are said to have been the earliest in the Bono state. Stone beads were usually of quartz and were gound round and flat. They were then perforated and strung together.

Very hard seeds such as Abia and Akokoninani were collected. They were boiled, perforated and then strung together.

11.25b OTHER BEADS

Beads claimed to be locally made include Botaa, yiwa Bodom and Teteaso. But the origin of bodom beads has been suggested by Lamb to have been the southern or eastern Mediterranean, from where they were brought across the Sahara in pre-colonial times. (1970.pp.83-5). If Lamb is correct then possibly the reason why the traditions claim the bodom and the two other beads were locally made may be that copies were locally made from these old and valuable beads which were traded from the north.

The antiquity of these so-called local beads in the area may be inferred from the annual apoo festival. One of the beads is mentioned in one of the ancient apoo songs as :-

Tete Aso e benkyere ee

Yenyinaa yenim o

Tete Aso e benkyere;

Ohemaa Dwameraa nna de ye

benkyere yease, Amansan benim ye;

Tete Aso e benkyere ee

Yenyinaa yenim o

Tete Aso e benkyere

Translated roughly the song goes like this:-

Tete Aso (name of a bead) is easily recognizeable

we all know

(that) Tete Aso is easily recognizeable

Queen Dwameraa's (one of the Bono queens)

children

Nobody explains our origin,

All states know us

Tete Aso is easily recognizeable

We all know

(that) Tete Aso is easily recognizeable.

Beads which were said to have been imported into the state included Amankwatia, Ngyannee, Akommere and Anenkyenemma.

Beads were worn mostly by women. During ceremonial occasions chiefs and priests also wore beads. There is no evidence in the traditions collected as to which Bono queen initiated the manufacture of particular beads, as Meyerowitz claims to have been told (1949 p.50).

There is also a remarkable ignorance of the so-called Aggrey beads.

According to one informant (No.12 appendix II) in the olden days certain beads were restricted to particular clans. For example women of the ayokoo clan in the Bono state put on Bodom beads, whilst women in the Koona clan of the Kurontire put on Bota beads (see also Meyerowitz 1949 p.50). However, details of this are unfortunately forgotten. This would have helped the archaeologist greatly because the discovery of a particular collection associated with a female burial would possibly show the clan to which she belonged.

Beads were not only used for ornamentation, but had ritual or medicinal functions as well. The table below shows the functions of the main beads mentioned in the traditions of the Bono state:

11.25c FUNCTIONS OF MAIN BEADS IN THE BONO STATE

NO.	NAME OF BEAD	FUNCTION(S)
1.	Bodom	For ornamentation
2.	Bota	For ornamentation
3.	Tete Aso	For ornamentation
4.	Amankwatia	For a) ease in child birth b) against still birth
5.	Abia	For ease in child birth
6.	Akommere	For curing sleeping sickness, convulsion and impotence
7.	Ngyanee	For ornamentation
8.	Anenkyenemma	For ornamentation
9.	Yiwa	For warding off evil spirits.

It is interesting to note from the above list that the so-called local beads (bodom, bota and tete aso) were mostly used for ornamentation whilst those considered imported were used for ritual purposes. This difference in function is difficult to explain.

12. TRADE

Trade was important because of the following contributions it made to the Bono state; Firstly, it brought the state into contact with people from outside, especially countries to the north and west of Ghana. This contact made it possible to obtain exotic or very scarce commodities. Secondly, trade made it possible for cultural ideas to be exchanged. Thirdly, it promoted general wealth and rise in the standard of living among the people in the Bono state. However, the same general wealth from the trade was to become a cause of a later war and the consequent fall of the Bono state.

12.1 FACTORS PROMOTING TRADE IN THE BONO STATE

Four main factors may have promoted trade in the Bono state. Firstly, the state was located on the northern edge of the forest of of Ghana. The forests of the area provided bese (kola-sterculia acuminata) which the Mande traders from the Middle Niger region were anxious to obtain (Wilks 1962b, page 339). Secondly, since the state was at the southern edge of the savanna, these northern traders who often used pack animals could readily penetrate this far south, particularly as the area was free of tsetse fly, the vector of the fatal animal disease, trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness). Thirdly, the state was situated

on one of the major routes between the Middle Niger region and forest states of Ghana (Wilks 1962b). Fourthly, the state possessed rich gold resources which were in great demand by the Mande and other northern traders.

Other factors such as the availability of raw materials (laterite) for tools, the large number of streams to serve as water resources for the people, good agricultural soil for both forest and savanna crops - all contributed a great deal to the growth of trade in the Bono state.

Trade in the Bono state may be considered at two levels:-

a. Internal trade

b. External trade

12.2 INTERNAL TRADE

The internal trade was concerned with the exchange of products of the various sectors of the economy among states of Ghana including the Bono state. This may be subdivided into two:[17]

i) Intra-state trade which involved the exchange of goods within the Bono state alone:

ii) Inter-state trade which involved the exchange of goods between the Bono state and other neighbouring state(s) within the area now known as Ghana.

12.2a INTRA-STATE TRADE:

was conducted in many markets in the Bono state. Some of the popular ones are said to have been at Longoro Nkwanta, Nyafoman and Dewoman (map.1). There was usually an open space in the village

concerned where trade was conducted.

Commodities sold in thse markets were mostly foodstuffs such as yams and sorghum and products of craft industries such as pots, baskets, farm implements and local kyekye cloths.

12.2b INTER-STATE TRADE:

was smililar to the intra-state trade in many ways. The main difference was that in the former type, commodities which were rarely produced or absent in each state were exchanged. Thus, for example, salt was often obtained from Krakye (Krachi), Daboya or from the coast by the Bono people. Similarly traders from Ohwim, Kaase, and Denkyira states are said to have obtained kyekye cloths from the Bono state or from Nsoko.

The main trade participants were people from the states of Yanne (Yendi) and Yabo (Gonja) in the north; Tafo, Ohwim, Kaase and Denkyira, (Asante came later) in the south; Atebubu and Wiase in the east (map.2).

12.3 EXTERNAL TRADE

The external trade was concerned with the exchange of goods between the Bono state and states which were considerably far away and which did not fall within the area now known as Ghana.

There is a very scanty reference to trade by dumb barter in the Bono state. All the references are made in connection with caves and rock-shelters. As has been suggested already, the tradition that people in the rock-shelter at Amuowi and Gyamma caves provided cloths and tools respectively may imply a faint memory of dumb barter trade in

a far distant past. If this is correct it will probably be an earlier form of external or inter-state trade.

At the height of the Bono state the external trade was held at the famous Dwabirim (market) said to have been located about 16 kms. south of the capital[18] (see map1). Many people from the state and outside it converged there to meet the alien traders from the north and north-west. The traditions are however silent on whether the trade was organised weekly or daily.

The market is said to have been organised by the "sons" of the king. On market days the sons would ride on their horses from the capital towards the Dwabirim, tether their horses near a stream still called Aponkosu (horses' stream) very close to the Dwabirim, and would then visit the market.

The alien traders included Mossi, Ndwila (Dyula), Mmraa (Hausa)and people from Bontuku. Their main route was through Bontuku which linked Kong, Bouna to Jenne and Timbuktu in the Middle Niger area (see also Wilks 1962b p.338). From Bontuku the traders are said to have had a stop at Nsoko (Begho) which is also said to have developed into a big trading centre. A day or two after leaving Nsoko the traders reached the Dwabirim.

The main items sold by the alien traders were cloth goods such as blankets and smocks; brass objects, tobacco and beads. In exchange, they took gold and bese (Kola) which grew in the forests of the state. The major centres were around Takyiman and Takyimantia.[19] However other traders near the state also brought kola to sell, such

as people from Abofour, Ofinso and Dwayaw-Nkwanta. The kola was collected in apakan (headloads) and sold to the alien traders.

12.4 MEDIA OF EXCHANGE

The main media of exchange were barter, cowries and gold dust. Barter was the most ancient method and seemed to have been more common in the intra-state trade among the local inhabitants, This involved the exchange of foodstuffs and the products of craft industries.

There is an occasional mention of cakes of iron objects which were called nabuo. These are said to have been the earliest currency used.

Cowries and gold dust, were the principal media of exchange in the inter-state and external trade. However, gold dust was more prominent in the external trade. Every trader had abrammoo (gold weights) which were used to measure the gold dust in exchange for the commodity needed.

It is said that sometimes the alien traders stayed for a night. But quite often they returned to Nsoko (Begho) to pass the night because the area was considered safer due to the many alien settlers who lived there. As already said, the alien traders who were mostly Muslims did not like to stay in the Bono capital since the religion and customs of the Bono people were at variance with theirs.

13. POLITICAL ORGANISATION

Even though settlements were scattered all over the Bono state, the effective area of occupation seems to have been within a

30-40 kms. radius of the capital. Each village was ruled either by a "son" of the king or by a wing chief. Thus, for instance, the Koonahene/Kurontihene ruled Nkwaakuru, (Mmaadubooso), Baafi and Tanobuase; the Atomfoohene[20] (chief of blacksmiths clan) ruled Nyafoman; and the Dewoman chief priest ruled Dewoman, Dapaafu, Akobiase and Asrakankoma.

The rulers of the bigger chiefdoms such as Nyafoman and Dewoman stayed permanently in their capitals. The rulers of the lesser chiefdoms such as Asekye and Tiprama made regular visits to the capital to make such as general reports about their chiefdoms and to attend state council meetings.

These regular visits to the capital equally applied to the sons who were not sub-chiefs or chiefs. Thus for example, a son of the king stayed permanently at Asekye but is said to have visited the capital every evening.

13.1 THE USE OF HORSES

Such regular visits demanded an effective means of transport and this was met by the use of aponko (horses). They were brought from the north to be sold, especially by the Mande speaking traders,[21] and from the Gonja area. It is claimed that all the wing chiefs, sons and grandsons of the kings used horses. The elders of Asekye, Yefri, Nyafoman (now called Akumsa-Domase), Tanobuase, Amoman and Takyiman are able to show visitors the Aponkokwan - (horses pathways) and in some cases, the abiriye - bridges) that led from their states to converge at the capital or the Dwabirim (market). The aponkokwan

leading from the capital Bono Manso to the Pankana stream where the horses were daily watered are still traceable during the dry season.

However, it appears that the aponko were used primarily as means of transport and as a mark of high social status since they were restricted to the nobles and royals of the state. It is possible that they could be used in time of war, but these were not as many in the state as some writers would have us to believe, and they were not primarily as cavalry (Meyerowitz, 1962 p.81; Goody 1965 p.4). Indeed in time of war, they would be restricted only to the few nobles and royals who were invariably the commanders of the army.

13.2 MILITARY ORGANISATION

The bulk of the military organisation was said to have been of infantry, Short guns called pantantuo, and pea (swords) were provided by the atomfoo (blacksmiths). These weapons were supplemented by ntadua (bows and arrows). Evidence for the use of bows and arrows in wars comes from the account of the Asante invasion of the Bono state. After the war Bafo Pim, who later became king of a greater part of the Bono state was, given the epithet: Akrapimhene Baffo, agyentandua which literally means "warrior king Baffo, one who captures bows and arrows". Up till today the battle ground is called agyentadua where the Asante are said to have captured the bows and arrows used by the Asekye soldiers in defence.

Bono soldiers also used kyem (leather shields) during wars. The kyem were made of tough trimmed round and glued together. The skin of Kontromfi (baboon) whose colour is similar to the savanna

vegetation was used to cover the front part so that when they were advancing the enemies might not detect them.

13.3 THE KING

The symbol of authority of the king was the state golden stool puduo. This is claimed to have been brought from the Amuowi hole. Made of gold, it was encased in a box called sesee and was (and is) only opened on ceremonial occasions. Owing to its sanctity, the stool was hidden in a cave near Buoyem during the Asante invasion and was never captured.

The state administration was under the king and his wing chiefs. The queenmother lived at Amoman[22] about 8 kms. north of the capital. The royal mausoleum called Nnahaam is believed to have been at Amoman. (Some say that another nnahaam was at the capital). It was only on special occasions that the queenmother came to the capital. Quite often the king rode on his horse to have consultations with her at Amoman.

The way successive kings ruled the state varied. Some of the kings are said to have been quiet and sober; others are said to have been very oppressive. The local traditions claim that Ameyaw Akumfi I ruled very oppressively. Whenever a person from a house offended him, he would order all the inmates of the house to be killed. He thus earned the epithet: Ameyaw kum afi afi (shortened Akumfi) which literally means Ameyaw "killer of inmates".

13.4 THE APO FESTIVAL

During the reign of this king an epidermic broke out. Local gods, when consulted, said they were annoyed at Ameyaw Akumfi's tyrannical rule. Therefore king Ameyaw had to set aside 11 days in every year during which the public would speak their minds about the administration of the state. The term apo means "to reject" which implies a period of rejection of all wrongs in the state (see also Rattray 1923, p.153). It was during the apo festival that all the faults of the king and wing chiefs were publicly renounced in the form of songs. This was done so that the rulers might reform accordingly. The apo festival thus put checks on the kings and allowed the average person to have a say in the government of the state, at least once every year. (This festival is still celebrated annually at Takyiman.).

14. THE BONO-ASANTE WAR (1722-3)

The causes of the Bono-Asante war have been amply described by earlier writers such as Ward (1958 pp.40-41), Reindorf (1889,p.71-3) and Meyerowitz (1950 pp.36-44). Meyerowitz's account seems the most detailed and will be summarised here with some comments:

Meyerowitz's informants claimed that Adu Donyina, and Baffo who succeeded the former, were refugees from Amakom. They were accepted by the Bono king. They got to know the great wealth of the Bono state. Once a quarrel ensued between Baffo and a son of the king. Baffo was pacified by a gift of gold from the king. Using

the gold, Baffo brought enmity between the Bono and the Asante. The Asante invaded the Bono state. Meanwhile through the treachery of Baffo, the Bono people had been persuaded to bury their guns in a river. The Bono state was crushed. The inhabitants burnt down their capital and fled in different directions. The state was divided up and the greater part given to Baffo to rule.

Other versions can be heard from Takyiman and Nkoransa, but essentially there is a measure of agreement on the following:

a) Baffo and his people came from Asante

b) They were treated hospitably

c) The wealth of the Bono state was well-known to the Asante before the war.

d) The war was effected by Baffo's treachery

e) The war occured when the Bono were totally unprepared.

f) The Bono state was destroyed and Baffo was rewarded.

14.1 INTERNAL CONDITIONS

14.11 THE WEALTH OF THE BONO STATE:

The role of Baffo in the fall of the Bono state has been amply demonstrated in the above story. However, the traditions collected by the present writer show that though Baffo's role contributed to the fall it was the internal conditions that paved the way for the ultimate destruction of the state.

Firstly, internal and external trade had brought prosperity to the state. It is said that before the war Baffo was an itinerant trader in Bono Ntoma or Kyekye (local cloth). He bought the cloths and sold them in Asante. The wealth of the Bono state was well known

in the 18th Century A.D., due to the reports of such itinerant traders. In addition, by their long contacts with the Bono people, these Asante traders had made many friends. For example, Baffo is said to have made friends with some of the "sons" of the king. No doubt the wealth of the state would be known through such contacts. People therefore came to settle permanently in order to tap the rich resources of the state.[23] Asante which had at this time developed into a powerful state would definitely seek ways and means of conquering such a wealthy state.

14.12: SUCCESSION DISPUTES

The internal conditions did not promote peaceful existence of the state. Succcession disputes were becoming common which resulted in groups of people migrating to other areas. It is said that Ameyaw Kwakye I (the last king of the Bono state) was involved in a succession dispute in which a section of the people under Abrakwamsi (Amoakwamsi) and Nsamankwa broke away to join their kindred group who were long established at the coast. This was in protest at the final selection of Ameyaw Kwakye as king of the state. Thus, already Ameyaw Kwakye had to contend with those mal-contents who did not secede.

14.13: PROFLIGACY OF AMEYAW KWAKYE I

Ameyaw Kwakye I is believed to have been indifferent to the consolidation of the state. Instead he is said to have so avaricious that he caused his servants to go from house to house collecting gold. He then had a sika putuo (barn for storing gold) erected for him. This avarice earned him the epithet Ameyaw a odi sika atomprada[24] that is, "Ameyaw, the man who uses fresh gold but once".

Added to this avarice, he is said to have indulged in immoral practices, which incurred the displeasure of the citizens in the state. Moreover, he is said to have ceased to have any respect for the gods, and would not heed any warnings nor would he perform the necessary rites of the state. Thus, his administration was resented by a cross-section of the people in the state; he had offended the youth, the priests and the gods.

14.14: UNWARRANTED ATROCITIES OF THE BONO ROYALS

The "sons" of the kings are said to have been so pampered by the king that they overstepped their privilege. Whenever they were going to water their horses any person who dared interrupt them would be slain. This earned the popular epithet hyia ponko a nni agyinae, which literally means "If you meet a horse, that is your end". One of the sons of the king was nicknamed Kosakore to pea, that is, "Kosakore the spear thrower". He is believed to have been so cruel that he would not eat unless he had thrown his spear into the sore of a person to see blood ooze out.[25]

One could say that the state was sick on the eve of the Asante invasion. Largely owing to the arrogance of the king and his

sons, when the war was announced, many of the dissatisfied chiefs and citizens are said to have gone to burry their guns in a river and refused to fight, saying, "se hene Ameyaw anya ne ko a onko nhye": "If king Ameyaw has got his war let him fight it all".

That there was burial of gusn is well remembered in the Takyiman traditions. to the burial of the guns has probably been misunderstood by a number of writers such as Reindorf (1889 op.cit.), Ward (1958, op.cit.) and Meyerowitz (1950 p.41). The present writer is of the opinion that Baffo never persuaded any Bono king on the burial of guns. The popular tradition on the burial of guns should not be misconstrued as a mark of technical incompetence (Goody 1965 p.11), but as a result of internal conditions which had reached a head on the eve of the invasion which had been effected throught the treachery of Baffo.

14.2 RESULTS OF THE WAR

It was therefore not surprising that the Bono tasted an instant defeat. People fled to other states. The Bono king and queen were captured by the Asante. All the important regalia of the king's court were taken, and his sika putuo was looted.

The Gonja chronicle puts the date for the invasion at 1722/3 (Goody 1954, Appendix IV). This defeat, and the mass looting are also corroborated in a letter to the Assembly of X: Elmina 8th January, 1724: "..... Then are the Ashantees who have again won a very big battle against a district that lie behind them and was quite 3 times stronger than the Ashantees. It was done thro' treachery, and was at once ruined. Much booty was plundered by the

Ashantees much of this they will bring to Elmina to sell which will give a considerable trade" (Furley Coll. 1724 p.132 (WIC 106). Though in this account no mention of the Bono state is made, the description of the location, of the war and its results, fit quite well with the traditions on the Bono state.

A number of the craftsmen were captured to work at the court of the Asante king. And apart from the looting, capture of the king, queen, and the craftsmen of the king's court, about-two-thirds of the territory of the Bono state was given to Baffo to rule.

Thus in size, wealth and population the Bono state sank into oblivion after 1722/3, despite her later attempts to regain her lost power. The constant wars that followed the 1722/3 war and the consequent migrations, were instrumental in shattering the political and social organisation of the successor state - Takyiman. It will be extremely important, therefore, to take the destructive effects of the Asante wars into careful consideration when conducting research into the social, political or economic conditions of the Bono state, or present-day Takyiman.

15. CHRONOLOGY OF THE BONO STATE

On the chronology of the Bono kings and queenmothers, Mrs. Meyerowitz wrote: "the reigns of the kings were counted by small pieces of gold or gold nuggets, each representing a year; those of the queenmothers by pieces of silver. These records were kept in kuduos - vessels of gold or brass - in the case of kings and terracotta vessels in the case of queenmothers and are still in existence today

in the Nkondwa Fiesa, the chapel of the stools at Takyiman, which was once the second largest city of the Bono kingdom" (Meyerowitz 1950, p.29). The gold nuggets were allegedly made available to her interpreter, Mr. Kofi Antubam and they were counted. Mrs. Meyerowitz thus compiled a list of the kings, and queenmothers of the Bono state with their names, dates and lengths of reigns. By this means she dates the foundation of the Bono state as 1295 A.D. For the purpose of comment this list is reproduced here:-

KINGS

1)	Nana Asaman	1295-1325	30 years
2)	Nana Ameyaa Kese (regent)	1325-1328	3 years
3)	Nana Akumfi Ameyaw I	1328-1363	35 years
4)	Obunumankoma	1363-1431	68 years
5)	Nana Takyi Akwamo	1431-1463	32 years
6)	Nana Gyako I	1463-1475	12 years
7)	Nana Dwambera Kwame	1475-1495	20 years
8)	Nana Afena Yaw I	1495-1564	69 years
9)	Nana Brempon Katakyira	1564-1594	30 years
10)	Nana Yebowa Ananta	1595-1609	14 years
11)	Nana Ati Kwame	1609-1618	9 years
12)	Nana Ameyaw Kurompe	1618-1633	15 years
13)	Nana Afena Diamono	1633-1639	6 years
14)	Nana Owusu Aduam	1639-1649	10 years
15)	Nana Akumfi Ameyaw II	1649-1659	10 years
16)	Nana Kofi Asamankwa	1659-1664	15 years
17)	Nana Owusu Akyempo	1664-1699	5 years
18	Nana Gyamfo Kumanini	1669-1684	15 years

19.	Nana Boakye Tenten	1684-1692	8 Years
20.	" Kyerene Bango	1692-1712	20 "
21.	" Ameyaw Kwakye I	1712-1740	28

QUEENMOTHERS

1.	Nana Ameyaa Kese	1297-1329	32 Years
2.	" Owusua Aberefi	1329-1365	36 "
3.	" Sewaa	1365-1419	54 "
4.	" Kyerema Mansa	1419-1463	44 "
5.	" Kuromo Kese	1463-1527	64 "
6.	" Nyako I	1527-1564	37 "
7.	" Ameyaa Kese II	1564-1566	2 "
8.	" Yaa Aberefi	1566-1576	10 "
9.	" Adwoa Twimwaa	1576-1593	17 "
10.	" Kuruwaa	1593-1598	5"
11.	" Aferanowaa	1598-1604	6 "
12.	" Afrakoma	1604-1610	6 "
13.	" Takyiwa	1611-1643	32 "
14.	" Afua Gyamfiwaa	1643-1656	13 "
15.	" Nana Gyaasewaa	1656-1679	23 "
16.	" Ankomaa	1680-1707	27 "
17.	" Nyako II	1707-1726	19 "
18.	" Dwambara Akenten	1726-1742	16 "

COMMENTS

From the oral traditions collected on kings and queens of the Bono state by the present writer and information from other sources,

the following points may be made:-

1. Many of the important personalities consulted on the question of the gold nuggets denied any knowledge of such a device. For example, the Barimhene (Stool house overseer) Nana Kwame Twi who was the same Barimhene at the time of Meyerowitz's research denied any knowledge of the existence of such a reckoning device. Those who claim some knowledge of such a device, say that though this was practised in the Bono state, during the Asante invasion, all these were looted and the practice was stopped after the war when a considerable number of people dispersed to other areas. In any case, these informants add that it was not a reckoning device as such, but it was an annual adwasoto - offering to the stools. The reckoning therefore seems to have been imagined by Meyerowitz.

What is obvious is that no such gold nuggets have existed at the Nkondwa Fieso (stool house) at Takyiman, at least since the return of the people from Gyaman in the 1880s.

2. This may be supported by the tradition which says that the Bono state had no stools but only one golden stool - sika putuo. It was after the return from Gyaman in the 19th Century that stools came into use. Thus, according to the stool house overseer only 8 stools are now at the stool house.

3. Thanks to Nana Ameyaw Kwakye II, the present Omanhene (Paramount Chief) of Takyiman, oral historians were consulted independently and the Omanhene invited all the oral historians he had consulted for king and queen lists, to a state council meeting. The lists they

compiled are synthesized as follows:-

KINGS

1. Nana Ameyaw I/Atta Kyima
2. " Asaman
3. " Brompon Katakyira
4. " Yeboah Kumpi (Ananta)
5. " Ameyaw Kumafiafi (Akumfi)
6. " Dwamena Kwame
7. " Ameyaw Kwakye 1722/3 war

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8. " Takyi Akwame
9. " Afena Diamono
10. " Kyereme Kofi
11. " Kwasi Twi
12. " Kwabena Pofie (to Gyaman)
13. " Gyarko Ad reba
14. " Kwadwo Konkroma
15. " Kwame Boakye
16. " Kwadwo Konkroma II
17. " Yaw Frimpong (Yaw Kramo)
18. " Yaw Ameyaw
19. " Kwasi Twi II
20. " Yaw Ameyaw II
21. " Kwame Kyereme
22. " Kwaku Gyarko II

23. " Ameyaw Akumfi II

24. " Ameyaw Kwakye II (present)

QUEEN MOTHERS

1. " Nana Ameyaa Kese

2. " Tanoa Kotoko

3. " Kuromo Kese

4. " Nyarkoah

5. " Kuruwaah

6. " Takyiwaah

7. " Aferema

8. " Gyaasewaah

9. " Ankomaa

10. " Dwameraa 1722/3 war

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11. " Fosua

12. " Animah

13. " Kuruwaah II

14. " Serwaah II

15. " Nyarkoa II

16. " Kurono II

17. " Kyeremaah

18. " Abrafi (present)

The following remarks were made at the council meeting about the above lists:-

a) The lists should not be taken as absolutely correct or sequential, especially in the case of the kings and queens who ruled before the Asante invasion.

b) The Bono kings who were destooled were never buried at the royal Nnahaam ; they were not remembered on the atumpan drums, so that some of the kings may have been forgotten.

c) Some of the Bono state drummers fled to Gyaman during the 1723 Bono-Asante wars. Many of them are said to have died there. The state drummers were thus almost lost when the people returned to Takyiman and therefore it is difficult to remember all the names of the rulers.

4. The original Nnahaam (royal mausoleum) of the Bono kings is said to have been at Amoman. After the war, Amoman and other towns were given to Baffo to rule. And there is no information that the dead kings and stools were taken to Takyiman.

5. After reading out Meyerowitz's list the elders gave the following comments:-

a) Kofi Asamankwa and Obunumankoma, though royals, never ruled. They were leaders who suceeded and migrated to the coast.

b) No Kyeremeh Bampo nor Gyamfo Kumanin (even if mispelt) ever ruled in the Bono state.

c) Afena Yaw I is the same as Afena Diamono (Diamono being a title). Even then he is said to have ruled after the 1722/3 war and not before.

d) Takyia Kwame ruled just after the 1722/3 war. It was he who collected the refugees from Bono Manso and stayed at Takyiman, then the village of one of the wing chiefs of the Bono state.

6. It has been shown by Goody in the Kitab Ghunja that: "in the thirty fifth year Bawo attacked Takyiman; and killed them" (Goody 1954 op.cit.). This has been dated between 1722 and 1723 and has been corroborated by the West India Company letter of 1724 which has been quoted above. Thus the date for the fall of the Bono state has been found to contradict that of Meyerowitz who puts the fall at 1740. The fact that one end of the time scale has been found wrong means that all her dates should be adjusted accordingly, and this gives the impression that the basis of her chronology was wrong.

7. Colin Flight has commented on Meyerowitz's chronology (Flight 1970 pp.259-68). Similarly, Dennis Warren (1970 pp.53-76) has appraised Meyerowitz's work on the Bono state and the two cast doubt on the validity of her work on the chronology. In fact the points presented above seem to cast even more doubts on the validity of the chronology. It is suggested that unless the kings and queens are taken singly and are corroborated by other sources, her list must remain a highly suspicious data for any chronological framework.

15.2 OTHER SOURCES

Apart from king and queen lists the following lines of evidence may be considered:-

a) Written records of other areas which mention the Bono state, and kings associated with dateable events.

b) Reference to earlier, contemporary or later people or states in songs, proverbs etc.

c) Migrations

d) Trade and trade items.

It is assumed that the date of 1722/3 is correct for the fall of the Bono state. This date is therefore used as terminus post quem. From this date an attempt will be made to work the chronology backwards to the time the state may have been founded.

15.21. WRITTEN RECORDS AND KINGS ASSOCIATED WITH DATEABLE EVENTS

In the early 17th Century, the Gonja Chronicle (Kitab Gunja) makes mention of wars with the people of the south which was probably the Bono state. The local traditions make mention of wars with the Gonja long before the Asante invaded the state. In one of them it is said the Bono were successful. In another they were defeated. After this unsuccessful war, there was so much famine that the then king, Brempon Katakyira offered to "fight hunger" for 40 days. On the 39th day he is said to have died. He was then succeeded by Yeboa who gained the title Ananta (Danish gun) because he ordered guns to be bought from the coast. The guns were used in fighting the Gonja who

were finally defeated. These wars could probably be placed in the 17th Century when the Gonja were fighting wars of expansion (Goody. 1954 op.cit.).

Two written sources make mention of the Bono state. These are the Dutch map of 1629 (Daaku op.cit. p.14) and Dapper's account of 1670 (1966 pp.15-17). The Dutch map gives the following description: "Bonnoe: simple people. No forest". Dapper in 1670 has this to say: "The kingdom of Bonnoe - It touches WANKI from the West, KUFORO on the south and AKANI and INTA on the east. There is little trade in the area" (op.cit. p.16).

We should not expect any great details about the states along the forest margins, owing to their distance from the coast. More important, these accounts were based largely on interviews of the traders from the interior. These traders could give distorted accounts, especially on gold trade, the secrets of which they did not wish to divulge. Moreover the states along the forest margins were, before the 17th Century, trading with the northern traders. Therefore these states had not had time to study the European closely. Confidence would thus be low. This is borne out on the maps by the great amount of details at the coast but the progressive decrease towards the north where certain accounts even appear to be doubtful. For example, the 1629 map describes Nsoko as follows: "... There is no gold nor trade" (Daaku 1966 p.14). But it is certain that there was substantial traffic in gold between the Nsoko

area and the Middle Niger (Posnansky 1973 p.155).

15.22 REFERENCE TO CONTEMPORARY STATES

To the south, trade relations are strongly claimed in the local traditions to have been established with states such as Tafo, Ohwim and Kaase. Tafo state may be the same one which the Portuguese described in 1527 (Daaku 1966, p.12) though the Dutch map put it too far north-east. It may be speculated that if the traditions are true, the Bono state was in existence at the time of the existence of these states mentioned above.

15.23 MIGRATIONS

Another possible source of evidence for dating the Bono state is that of migrations to and from or near the state.

The local traditions of Takyiman relate how the Gyaman people came to the Bono area "long after our ancestors had settled here". E.A. Agyeman has tentatively put this migration in the first half of the 17th Century (1966,pp.36-9). Similarly, the Denkyira are said to have migrated from the Bono state and Kumah (1966,pp.33-6) has suggested a date of about the late 16th Century for this migration. Granting that the Denkyira tradition is true, one would say that the Bono state was well established before the Denkyira migrated southwards. This is because according to the traditions collected by Kumah, the Denkyira people stayed with the Kyiraa (Nkyirra) and learned their institution so well that they turned into Kyiraas - Denkyira means "those who have turned into Chiraas" (op.cit. p.53). The Bono state in which

Kyiraa (Nkyiraa) was situated may have existed over a century before the Denkyira migrated southwards.

Firmer eviddence of migration is provided by the tradition that the Fante migrated from the Bono state. This tradition is so popular in Takyiman and Fanteland that there is little doubt as to a Bono-Fante relationship in the remote past. (Adu Boahen 1967 pp.175-180). The Fante state was in existence on the coast by the end of the 15th Century. Now, if the Fante came from the Bono state, then the latter must have been in existence in the early 15th Century A.D. if not much earlier.

15.24 TRADE AND TRADE ITEMS

It is claimed that Nsoko was a contemporary of the Bono state. At Manso, Nsoko and Kenten/Kabgrema, there are brass bowls which are possibly of North African origin, (Posnansky 1973a p.14; 1973b p.155). These bowls, now ritualised and believed to have come from heaven, may have been trade items dating to about the 15th Century A.D., a period long enough to be forgotten. It is not surprising therefore that the origin or purpose of these objects are associated with myths and rituals in the areas where they are located.

Goody mentions some Muslims who were called Mbontisua (Muslims of the Akans) at Bole. According to him the Mbontisua were living at Ayiiwa, "between Nkoransa and Takyiman" (Goody 1964 pp.193-218). No tradition has as yet identified this town between Nkoransa and Takyiman. On the other hand, if for the moment we accept

the location as a mistake, there may be an important clue. According to the Takyiman traditions there were people who migrated to the Bole area called Kagbrema. Before they migrated to the north they were living at Ayaa kenten, a name derived from a brass bowl just like a basket (Ayaa - brassbowl; kenten - basket) which is claimed to have descended from heaven.

The people are said to have migrated as a result of a war which is not clear, but which certainly predates the Asante invasion. This story may be corroborated by Goody's statement that the Mbontisua joined the Gonja to the north in the 16th Century.

It may be tentatively suggested then that the town Ayiiwa may be Ayaa kenten. If this is accepted the suggested date for the migration mentioned by Goody makes one push the foundation of the settlement to about the early 16th Century or still earlier.

From the patchy sources, it is tentatively suggested that the Bono state may have been well-established by the early 15th Century A.D. if not earlier, and was destroyed in the early 18th Century A.D.

16. NOTES

1. "Bono" (Brong) is now used to embrace all people who speak the dialect known as Bono, one of the major dialects of the Twi language. It is also used politically to refer to the greater proportion of the Brong-Ahafo region, that is, all the areas apart from Ahafo and areas around Banda.

2. The Amuowi referred to here is located about 2 kms. east of Pinehen in the Nkoransa area, and should be distinguished from the Amoawi near Offinso in Asante.

3. This was, however, not seen during our excavation of the area.

4. Meyerowitz claims this is derived from Buruku or Burukpong. (see Akan of Ghana pp.99-101).

5. The god is believed to have been at Amuowi II until quite a few years ago it was brought to Pinehen when the last group of people at Amuowi II were resettled there. The god has since been stolen.

5b. This title, played on Atumpan drums is said to have been later borrowed by the Nkoransahene. Wankyihene and Nkwantahene. (See also Meyerowitz: Akan Traditions of Origin 1950 p.120).

6. Others say the word is derived from a type of vegetable. According to this version, the Fante broke away to collect Fan as a result of a famine and never returned. Thus they were nicknamed Fan te. Fan=a type of vegetable; Te = pluck. Thus, Fante = pluckers of the fan vegetable; Te = pluck. Thus, Fante = pluckers of the fan vegetable. Few people are however inclined to this version.

7. Incidentally this is a Mande loan word, meaning a stone house. (see Wilks: Ghana Notes and Queries No.4 1962 pp.26-8).

8. Out of the total of 30 people interviewed on the origins of the ancestors of Takyiman, only 2 claimed a northern origin, the rest pointed to the Amuowi hole. Incidentally the two persons were both Muslims.

9. This information contradicts that of Meyerowitz who claims the capital had an alien quarter. See At the Court ..... 1962 pp.79-81. But in her other book, Sacred states ..... p.187 she agrees that the alien traders lived outside the capital.

10. This distinction was adapted from K.B. Dickson's A Historical Geography of Ghana Chapt.4, pp.72-95.

11. "Land" is here used rather broadly to refer to the actual land, sea, rivers, atmosphere etc.

12. Although strictly speaking goldworking should have been placed under primary economic activities, it has been brought under secondary activities purely as a matter of convenience.

13. A detailed description of hunting has been prepared by the writer in Sankofa Vol.II, forth coming.

14. Compare this tradition with the Ife tradition of sending smiths to Benin.

15. The bulk of the information on potting was obtained from Nana Afua Kuruwah (No.45 of appendix II).

16. A Hande loan work in Twi (see Wilks, Ghana Notes and Queries (No.4 1962 pp.26-8).

17. A distinction I owe to K.B. Dickson - "Trade patterns in Ghana at the Beginning of the 18th Century" in Geographical Review LVI, 3 (July 1966).

18 Some of the informaants point to the capital itself but nobody was able to locate this on the site of Bono Manso. On the other hand the Dwabirim at Takyiman is a well known site. Considering the long distances people covered on foot in those days, the 16 kms. is not an unusual distance. This distance away from the capital itself may explain why not much was known about the capital itself but rather Takyiman which was along the main North-west route and therefore much better known. Moreover, it has been pointed out that the alien traders were afraid to enter the capital owing to constant human sacrifices and the worship of local gods.

19. These two centres were so popular in the kola trade with the northern traders that it is said the Mossi traders kept asking for kola from these two towns each time they came to trade in the area. They often mispronounced the names of the two towns: Instead of Takyiman they said TAKIMPERE and instead of Takyimantia they said TAKIMANTIGA.

20. Goody and Boateng make Nyafomanhene the Kurontihene. This may not be true. Takyi Firi, the man after whom the name Takyiman was named, was the Kurontihene who originally stayed at Nkwaakuru near Yefre. See I.A.S. Research Review No.1, 1965.

21. Again this is supported by the fact that the word Porkor is a Mande loan word.

22. Other informants also say that Tweman was the queenmother's capital. Those who claim Amoman was the queenmother's capital explain that Tweman was occupied by the queenmother's sisters. Later, however, the last queenmother chose to stay at Tweman in order that she would go to state council meetings regularly.

23. This may explain why the three old men who found Nkoransa were of the same Asene clan of Adanse. The traditions collected from the lineage of the three old men at Nkoransa, indicate that the three old men went back and reported to their relatives in Adanse that the Bono state was a prosperous area to settle - hence the later arrival of Baffo and his people (information from Asookohema, Nana Afua Anokyewaa).

24. A similar epithet was given to Boa Amponsem. See J.K. Kumah "The rise and fall of the Kingdom of Denkyira" in Ghana Notes and Queries No.9, 1966, p.35.

25. Meyerowitz explains this set as a symbol of the healing power of the king.